

History 162
Contemporary America

Spring Semester, 1978

Dr. Jelinek

In this course, we will examine the important political, social, economic, intellectual and diplomatic themes in twentieth century United States history. Our primary purpose will be to gain an understanding of how urbanization, immigration-assimilation, industrialization, political centralization, affluence and two world wars have shaped: 1) the role and status of the individual in society, 2) the interrelationships of groups, and 3) the character of critical public and private, local and national institutions.

The following books are required reading for the course:

James T. Patterson, America in the Twentieth Century, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1976.

Harry Russel Huebel, Things in the Driver's Seat: Readings in Popular Culture, Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1972.

Each student will be required to write an essay. The essay will have two purposes. The first purpose will be for each student to state his or her opinion of why the study of history is important or unimportant. Based upon this opinion, the second purpose will be for each student to state his or her opinion of what it is that a history professor should be doing for, with and to students taking a survey history course as a general education requirement. To help you, copies of three opinions written on these issues by historians have been put on reserve in the Periodical Room of the library.

Your essay should be 5 to 7 pages in length. It must be typed. The essay will be due by the end of lecture on Friday, April 21. Late essays turned in by 5 p.m. on Friday will be given a grade penalty of one half grade (for example, from B- to C+). Late essays turned in by Wednesday, April 26 will be given a grade penalty of one full grade (for example, from B- to C-). Essays will not be accepted after lecture on Wednesday, April 26.

Your course grade will be determined by three in term examinations, the essay assignment and a final examination. Each of the in term examinations will count 15 percent of your grade. The essay will count 25 percent of your grade, and the final examination will count 30 percent.

My office is Huesman 19. My office hours are Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, 11-12 and Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1:30 to 4. From 1-2 on Fridays, I will meet with those students who, individually or collectively, wish to discuss the week's readings and lectures. If you can not see me at these times, make an appointment with me for a mutually convenient time. My telephone number is 642-2808.

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Lecture Topics and Suggested Reading Schedule

- Week 1 Contours of United States History: 1890-1910
 2-6 Introduction
 2-8 Immigration, Urbanization, Industrialization and Imperialism
 2-10 Populism
 Patterson, 3-33 and Huebel, 1-45
- Week 2 Progressivism
 2-13 The Climate of Opinion
 2-15 The Square Deal of Theodore Roosevelt
 2-17 The New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson
 Patterson, 35-99 and Huebel, 46-59
- Week 3 World War I
 2-20 The Principles of Wilsonian Diplomacy: Mexico and Europe
 2-22 The Great War
 2-24 The Impact of the War on the Domestic Front
 Patterson, 101-145
- Week 4 The Aftermath
 2-27 The Search for a Peace
 3-1 The Red Scare
 3-3 FIRST IN TERM EXAMINATION
 Patterson, 145-155
-
- Week 5 The 1920's: The Selling of Americanism
 3-6 Immigration Restriction, Prohibition and Fundamentalism
 3-8 The Rise of the Ad Mass Society/The Politics of Normalcy
 3-10 SECOND IN TERM EXAMINATION
 Patterson, 157-195 and Huebel, 60-77
- Week 6 The Great Depression
 3-13 Causes
 3-15 The Social Dimensions of the Depression
 3-17 Hoover's Policies
 Patterson, 197-223 and Huebel, 78-108
- Week 7 Easter Recess
- Week 8 The New Deal
 3-27 The New Deal: 1932-1935
 3-29 The New Deal: 1936-1938
 3-31 Assessing the New Deal
 Patterson, 225-265 and Huebel, 109-119
- Week 9 The Road to World War II and World War II
 4-3 THIRD IN TERM EXAMINATION
 4-5 Diplomacy: 1920-1941
 4-7 The Search for Victory
 Patterson, 267-307

- Week 10 World War II and the Cold War
 4-10 The Search for Peace
 4-12 The Home Front
 4-14 The Fair Deal of Harry S. Truman
 Patterson, 307-369 and Huebel, 121-136
- Week 11 The Eisenhower Era: 1953-1960
 4-17 The Republican Party Struggles to Live with the Welfare State
 4-19 John Foster Dulles and Foreign Policy
 4-21 The Nifty Fifties
 Patterson, 371-409 and Huebel, 137-160
- Week 12 The Troubled 1960's
 4-24 Social Turmoil
 4-26 The New Frontier and The Great Society
 4-28 (No Class)
 Patterson, 411-447 and Huebel, 161-214
- Week 13 The Search for Detente
 5-1 Cuba and Berlin
 5-3 Viet Nam
 5-5 1968
 Patterson, 449-483 and Huebel, 224-251
- Week 14 Nixon and Ford
 5-8 Losing the War
 5-10 Losing the Presidency
 5-12 The Continuation of Social Turmoil
 Patterson, 485-519 and Huebel, 215-223
- Week 15 Looking Beyond
 5-15 The Welfare State in Trouble
 5-17 Can the United States Solve Its Problems within a Democratic
 Context?
 5-19 Review
 Huebel, 252-266

*Unpave
 Wild Bill
 As they used to say
 Fans
 Halbowen
 Moram Hokes*

2/10/78

- 1919 - 'deterioration' of A. society

- seems thru ~~diffuse~~ influx of immigrants -

Nativists: "they'll destroy A."

us: Must know the "truth" -- what do people think is true

No race/nation superior/inferior!!

"why do they believe what they believe?"

"what do we take as true?"

- Nativists: "they can't melt into our culture?" True
"destroy A." false

WWI majority of imm. faithful
Assumed to have inferior culture.

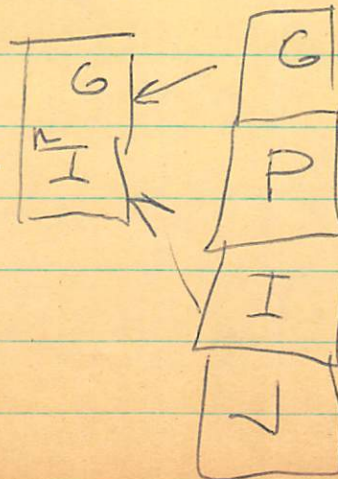
imm. went in ghetto areas

3rd

2nd

1st

mix



in reality, assimilation
you can't prevent it -

local live in does

street -

1st gen. maintain custom

2nd gen. wants to fit
must not have custom

3rd gen. rebellious custom

2/24/78

Submarine warfare

Absolute right for neutral ^{citizen} ships to travel
on belligerent ship who tired of being sunk

Dignity & Neutral

WW : "strict accountability" international code of law says
Amer. have right to ride british ship
to the high seas to England

Bryan: this principle is stupid, it will cause nothing
but war!

march 1916 Sussex - french ship sunk with mail!

may 1916 Germ. agrees - to search and sink
why? Germ. is winning the war - no
reason to antagonize WW.

strict accountability: good in ^{short} run but strategic
error in long run - in essence to
give the initiative to foreign policy in the
hands of the Germans

- letting others make our decisions or
policies: WW does.

early 1917 - war against Germ. Germ. losing
Feb 1, 1917 - no more search & sink
Feb 2, 1917 - WW breaks diplomatic relations

"all socialist (don't believe in war) are traitors"
(~~Common~~ Socialist) Burger 3 times ~~is~~ opposed war, 3 times
refused to seated 3 times.

Should we go to war { people
gov't

Someone protests the war - goes to jail!

'if you spoke badly of the uniform etc. you
go to jail - 1000s American went to
jail for being pacifists or neutral -

Socialist Pres. candidate - jailed 'cause he spoke
out against war

in modern war can't allow dissent - costs too high - need the
people backing for efficiency

- war breeds intolerance -

when society is under tension - rights are
suspended

Producers created "1776" - ~~Anti~~ Anti-British

Producers jailed, movies censored

didn't create unity & public opinion - so we created it.

period after WWI failure - should we have
fought it? any other war would have happened!
us not Allied - but Associated;

- Wilson wants to dictate peace! - we wanted
superior position!

English & French resentful of US position
casualties!
wanted Amer. to be replacements
but they won't have it

March 1, 1978

Exam!!

Capitalize on the important factors dealing
with the problem - in an essay
capture the essence of the issue!

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

3 exams

Roosevelt 1902

Know major periods -

Populism 1896

W.W

Progressive

WWI 1914 - US 1917

Red Scare - women are important
" " " " " "

Red Scare

Psychologist - Sociologist : etc. some are always
willing to get into "catchments"

- ① immigrants - Political Radical, minorities
- ② internal enemies that are serious threat
- ③ Patriotic rearmament.

{ 1900 Irish Catholic must marry Irish Catholic not Italian Catholic!
 { Today Catholic must marry Catholic!

student: should feel comfortable in ~~several~~ cultures

Problem 1 cultural threat ①

" " economical threat ②

lower standard of living -

- less wages
 - longer hours
 - bad conditions
 - strike breakers: (clash between cultures)
- } worse in Europe etc

Problem 2 political threat ③:

political machine → immigrants new in area
 political rep in ghetto: find main place
 to stay / jobs / turkey at Christmas

- ~~big~~ buying and selling of vote

Problem 3 loyalty:

WW1 test

1890 - 1919: Mex. Imm. - small number of Mex in
 Southern until 1910 - 1900's after ① Revolution

② Mex/Amer. Railway!

mex - visible immigrants in S/W
Blacks at WSI move to Rural south
to Urban south to the Northern cities

(North + West opposed to Slavery - but not pro. black)

- 1900 Chinese establish in Cal

- Japanese influx in Cal: "The yellow peril!"

we must over cultural isolation!

contact - he's human

Grant, Madison, The Passing of the Great Race.

→ example of tension in society because a lack
of contact. deep probs.

Primitive culture can't assimilate that well - slow process

//

2/17/73

- The climax of populism -
1890 -

William Jennings Bryan - once demo.
ran on populist presidential ticket - democrats
gold standard nominate him also as their candidate
- reason U.S. maintain "democracy"
2 party system: we maintain 2 parties -
not 8 or 10!

- "waddy-waddy" - shift with the desire of the
people.

Election: politicking all is read! So newspapers
were highly bias -

1902:

~~The~~ Populist movement - probable that Roosevelt's
V.P. office brought it -

1st modern president F. Roosevelt.

using govt power to change society - serve the
people - presidency to be powerful dynamic w/
a program

women
NAACP
Labor movement } "demanding reform"

Is it good to have big companies? :

Roosevelt - NEW NATIONALISM

efficiency; minimize progress

① Powerful Presidency

"The steward of the people."

② set out to really define what the National Problems were: no longer passive Pres.

- 1st time sent out specialists ~~into~~ into the field
solve problems - then acts upon findings.
Powerful Executive.

③ Bigger is not inherently bad

Industrialization with lead to better quality of life

- We need to regulate not dismantle big business

"As long as they serve to public good."

- "Steward of the people"

"Trust buster"

NE RR - Roosevelt felt that ~~this~~ this was bad situation ^{they} - I sell trust for more than worth.

President has responsibility to serve people

- New Inauguration

sought the black vote - appoint blacks to offices in govt, invited Booker T. Washington to Washington 1st black invited officially to D.C.

- Ecology - developed ~~by~~ National Park System:

Department of Commerce - created by Teddy.
Fact finding boards independent of
companies; unions

2/20/78

The New Nationalism (the Square Deal)

The New Freedom.

Robert Crutcher
Woodrow Wilson's domestic policy
- mod. discussion on U.S. entry into WWI -
when society is at war it becomes autocratic -
(case of WWI + I + Vietnam)
N.F. reinstitution of Jeffersonian concept of "each
man is an individual."

Wm. to Kennedy: liberals "state can do it!"

R. Nixon: welfare, is responsibility of welfare of
its citizens - to a minimal amount (conservative).

Does gov't have the right to investigate what you do?

mod. products
Wm. Roosevelt: gov't must involve itself w/ citizens
must maintain large concentration of power but gov't
regulated

strong executive: fed. gov't to actively protect gen.
public - concentration of power are not inherently
democratic - competition!

capitalism prob.: larger bigger companies ~~the~~ out
strip lesser companies - buying out - monopoly

Father please
today. Be my
savior
from ~~the~~ ~~the~~

Welfare Capitalism

Automobile: 1 type & concentration good!

should you break up these concentrations

Wilson - they should be broken up -

N Nationalism: active pres.

Underwood Simmons tariff: high tariff -

all through 1900th cen. high tariff to tax
incoming good.

- maintaining the quality of life vs. maintaining competitive
capitalism. -

concentration of power do we want one.

- Wilson: Business - con. of power

our lifetime: Govt = labor = Business con. of power
countervailing Power.

same Wilson model

tariff: increase competition (lowers tariffs on imports)

1913 - Fed. income tax - Supreme Court (unconstitutional)

↳ progressive tax - more you make, more you pay!

retrogressive tax - sales tax everybody pays same.

Govt must have funds to support fed. bureaucracy

- historical govt supported by tariff - but tariff lowered
needs income tax

1913 - Federal reserve Act: govt had right to print money - but
now, govt is able to control bank to help people

banks need money - borrow money to give you
a loan - they set interest level.
~~with loan made~~

1914 Fed. Trade Commission - maximum competition.

1914 Edmondson Act: railway worker 8 hr. day

→ "If you're going to be productive you must have rest."
at the time most work 6 day work week
steel workers 7 day.

- we now feel it is a right for leisure

tries to ease the work load on an oppressed people.

W. Wilson considered most liberal pres. til Roosevelt.

" " doesn't establish New Nationalism is WWI

→ Systematic removal of Black & Fed. patronage: why?
political reason: Democratic South: WW was a
minority president - needed south white vote.
- Original WWI -

2/24/78

Impersonalization of War

- mass destruction -

Nerve gas - machine guns - tanks - planes

only bastion of defense - Philosophical/Religion

"Only God can obliterate the earth."

1st of the absolute weapon: Nerve gas } disbelieved that
though fragile - they are effective } that many died
die 80 million - WWII

basic decline in the dignity of man
- industrialization & WWI - down it goes -
man to man; nation to nation
"man is not in control of his technology or
if he is he has lost his sense of dignity"

Factors to explain US entry into WWI

- ① Unrestricted use of Submarine - littania
② Economic connection
③ Propaganda
④ America ~~is~~ as a world power
⑤ Protect Democracy
- The Hun Threat
⑥ Anglo-Saxon Cultural Ties

1917 Eve of Amer. entry / \$ 2.25 Billion Allied Powers
\$ 2.5 million Central Powers

why more trade with Eng. than Germ.:

easy trade accessibility - historical ties natural

why loan more Eng. than to Germ.:

investments in Eng. already

most of businessmen were in neutral - had a big
investment in Eng. & France.

Trans ~~at~~ Atlantic Cable - it started in Eng. all the
Eng. & French atrocities withheld - Germ. atrocities
seen

America is a world power: on eve of WWI we weren't. No army, no real navy, no air force.

- prior to WWI we borrowed more than loaned out - after WWI we hold the dough.

- Democratic Society Army in the closet
- full volunteer army - eve of WWII US 17th largest Army in the world - -

draft army / voluntary army
↑

prob.
money / who your allies are?

Protect Democracy

- ① Constitution democracy - France
- ② " monarchy - England
- ③ " democracy - U.S.
- ④ Monarchy - Germany

What does Pr, Eng, do to conscientious objector - execute or late imprisonment.
"we have to win this war!" can't tolerate CO's wars in their lands!

no suspension of political liberties as in WWI

always happens is:

- boundaries of acceptable conduct is murky!
- social loss of direction "where are we going?"

- Examples

① 1600-90 Massachusetts colonies "witch hunt"
Puritan dualism breaks down -
leads to "witch-hunt"

② 1870-90 Ghost dance phenomena
most Indians proud - but by this time
they were under submission - "we have
lost our values" Indian as noble warrior
dies - they take up Ghost dance -
⇒ if they conform to new standard - white man
will die! result in

Nov.

1919

Pomer raids -

250 arrested 39 deported

Radicals -

Dec 1919

24 aliens deported

4000 arrested

1917-1919
radical left split

no rational reason

Radical left at its

weakest

Red Scare

1919 → 1950 McCarthyism

prejudice - creates a sense of value
Have to root out those that are danger
only thing constitution says that
anarchism is wrong; not communism
ect.

All these views have right to exist in
a democratic society -
FRIK!

March 8, 1978

Huddel book not responsible

fr pp. 46-59; 73-77; 137-141; 161-172; 173-180;
235-244.

Alcoholic
Argument } Alcohol: it is unhealth "salvation", industrial safety,
health & welfare of family

- Society must moral code: people must enforce on their own
you can't legislate "alcohol" out of existence
Society doesn't want to enforce law
you will conform but on a broad base
- if you say all that is okay = chaos or anarchy
- but you can't compel folks to be saints - narrow road

Prohibition 1919 - '32 ('33)

most effect way of dealing w/ these problems

is to raise moral fiber.

~~not~~ acceptable w/ Immigration

A. N - W Europe

B. S + E Europe

C. South Americans

Asians unacceptable

New York was to Europeans

L.A. is to Americans

Lines are made by ~~mass~~ Race not ethnicity
- integration of European nations

to

ad~~ver~~ mass society

advertise-mass consumption :

people want a good life - all around 1920's

materialism (i.e., the rise of detergent, soap,

showing of legs or underarms of women)

- Higher in society more "cleanliness."

Rise of Amer. Manufacture; can produce consumer goods

1911-20: Henry Ford; "cheap & dependable" "you can have it in any color as long as it's black."

GM; "accessories" choice in late 20's until in 1930s

import cars: "mass market of folks in U.S. w/ luxury but don't want added options [added expense]."

"creating a need; meeting that need w/ built in absolences"

Al-mash goods

- [illegible]

Star system formed : Clara Bean ("The IT-girl"
sex girl) - prior to 20's movies develop no one character
- all mass scenes -

spectator sports develop - team to individual
stars - heroes close behind the business men.

(Levi class - white collar meant affluence - now
show importance go w/o tie to show personal freedom)
entertainment people are the ones that influence
society -- enjoy, enjoy - movies, sport stars
Mag. carry sex stories - everything sex stories
cheap mag. suggest what forms are acceptable or not
Radio - advertising society

selling & consumer goods. "You need X!!"
(All the advertising money used by Procter & Gamble in
one year exceeds all the money used for all political
campaigns in the US in one year.)
many are getting the movies etc., because they are
told to --

women's liberation: not only political etc but "I want
a divorce."

Clara Bean "sex is fun" 20's: abortions rise

sex disconnected from conception -
rise & religious fundamentalism: very high but effect

is red ~~low~~ - religious - social conscious low etc.

Renaissance of Black Harlem - Black leader

Feel the massing of Blacks is good - we are separate
but we will raise ~~the~~ standards - Harvey ~~Carvey~~ Carver
"moving back to Africa," notion of do what we're
told to do - rise of Black consciousness

Double-edge sword - sincere dangers and those effected
by Ad-hoc

→ Adjustment of Politics - Coolidge - Harding - Hoover -
return to 19th century president - invisible president
Roosevelt, Wilson superstar president (imperial)

Tired of politics - but we can't have a weak president
Harding spent 3 hrs. a day / we need one to do 16 hrs. a
day - businessmen good guys til Great Depression
"let businessmen tell govt what to do"

Great depression could have been averted -

Harding lets cabinet members run their own
department

more concerned w/ personal appearance than do one's
congressmen is what he's doing.

March 15, 1978

	A	B	C	D
A	5	8	9	5
B	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
	7	13	14	7

Fri. discuss term project

- IMPORTANCE OF AID-MASS -

1920's socially important - "enjoy the good life"
one is not born to be a dutiful life

overwhelming sense of meaning, structure,
responsibility - broken in '20's

PROB OF MENTALITY:

Rude shock of Stock Market Crash - & the
Great Depression

- social and political terms: Great Depression
great amount of effect

Generations of Parents (Grandparents) grow up thru

GD and then WWII - raises children (spoils them
rotten) -- ~~spoil~~ when they rebel Folks say "You never
knew the problems of the G.D."

- Optimism & Democracy: "Tomorrow better!"

- suspended during G.D. - return after WWII

- during G.D. if one you lose your job "it's your fault"
"Foot the fault" in 60's-70's everybody else
is blamed.

CD moved everyone in society
 30's "There's something wrong w/ society"
 29-30 "There's something wrong w/ me"
 33-? "Then what about society?"

Causes:

1) Stock market crash

A) Even though crash, if it could have set right in '31 CD would have been avoided

① 29-30 ^{speculating} Speculators hit!

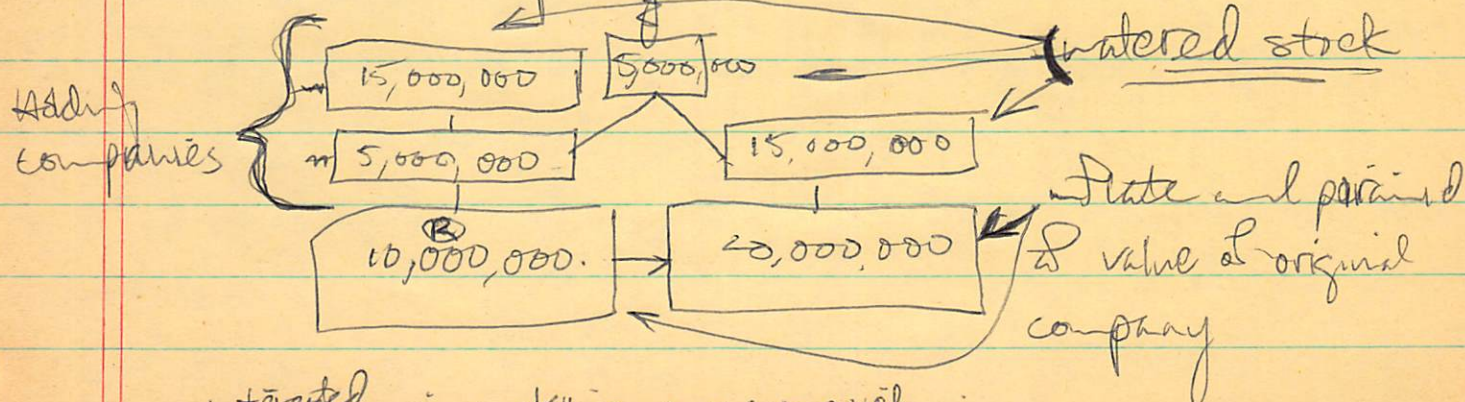
② 1931-33: market fails to regenerate ^{itself} ~~market~~ investors hit: make money off dividends.

Prolonged decline - longest decline

3) Weak Corporation Structure: lack of corporate development, weak in the

Holding company: building basically ~~with~~

fictional companies



interested in making money quick in
selling & buying stock 1\$ - 10\$ - 20\$

Unemployment Insurance } developed 'cause
Investment " } of Depression
Social Security

- Holdings companies ~~stock~~ is worthless
water stock

Buyon margin:

mid-class (100.0# invest) invest 2000.0#

need 1000.0# 10% interest

1000.0#

banks loan 1000 at 6% interest

↓
12,000.0#
falls your loss

March 17, 1978

Essay

What does History do?

Is it science?

What kind of truth?

Irrelevance of most American Hist.

What are you suppose to get out of this course.

Thought must be shown!

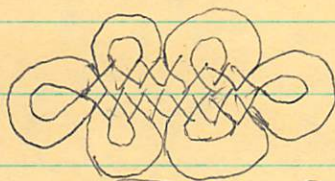
Grade school - patriotic history -

high school } "more" realistic

college } history

All education has
certain amount of
thought control

identity changes the values of people -- sometimes good
or bad.



instinct

one group democracy - elitism

[power & the discipline]



good fight has
been fought

DEPRESSION!

March 29, 1978

EXAM April 5, 1978 - Wed.

Compare FDR & Hoover in dealing with depression
Ex Question: causes of depression

① conservative econ explain: major cause was international depression.

② liberal " " : ~~accept~~ international depression but ^{was} misdistribution of wealth -- mass consumption of goods to make money you need money -- if you have no money you can't consume need add more income to buy adequate goods

① Agriculture: prosperity of 20's is in cities war moves in land etc., war ends ↓ boom

② textiles: uniforms war goods war ends ↓ boom
wages and hours

③ mining: same

① Political leadership: Amer. Cap. collapsed '29-30
most econ. believed invisible laws governed economy - you're going to have prosp., recess, depress.
-- nothing can be done about this --

Both Parties believed that you can't spend your way out of the depression [they did nothing!] FDR & Hoover
Hoover: don't put people on the dole [welfare] -

Arch-progressive: most admired man after TR & W. W.
born poor man rose to successful businessman go through
political belt: best qualified to be pres.

Ex. grade system intellect & initiative: need both
for grade.

Never had anything like this before: months & months
pass -- "Hooverville's across the nation" Nothing can do!

later Hoover gets moving: more involved but more
isn't better. Based on Tickle Down theory --
introduced money at higher levels [loans]
to banks and corporations -- ~~many~~ did more than any
other Amer. President but not enough.

Relief thru ^{private} charity and city & state [not federal]
tax funds - "He who has should, share with he who
has not."

Hoover & FDR were capitalist -- & tried to save
capitalist system: govt said manipulate econ. H.
conservative; FDR liberal:

capitalism right & choice - FDR have to save
cap. -- put govt has to help the people in need!
H. "laissez faire" govt intervening with ~~destroy~~ personal
freedom and capitalism.

At FDR inauguration: half states have no operating
banks; other half closed their banks. "Emergency
banking act," Crisis proportions - first fireside

chats - FDR reopens banks, tells people to put their money back in banks. They do!

He could have Nationalized bank -- congress thirsty for leadership - they theoretically would have passed - He was a capitalist!

"If believing ..." diff. between Hoover & FDR
people (masses) have confidence in him [charisma]

+

Huckleberry Finn 5 March 31, 1978

Uncle Remus 17

Wizard of Oz 34

The Liars 60

Serious Funny 68

What is involved - why are they important pieces of art but more than pieces of art?

causes of Depression

success or lack of New Deal

Relief

Recovery (National Planning?)

Reform (Saving

Counterbalancing Power)

Capitalism by reforming it)

FDR accepted the fact that people are suffering

and it's the govt's responsibility to help the people]

① FERA

Fed Emergency

Relief Administration

out and into relief 3 + 1 → dated not to ready

Relief

② CWA
Civilian Works Admin.
fed. govt. min. wage to feds
for fed. projects
(hospitals repair etc.)

4 million (peak 1/34)

③ WPA
works progress Admin.
light proj. hospitals
work relief

④ PWA
Public Works Admin.
heavy proj. dams
aircraft carrier

⑤ CCC
Civilian Conservation Corp.
"Vista" Peace Corp.
- forestry, single young men -

there was suffering alleviated
but also "boondoggling"

As the economy ^{only} begins to rise
Rep. & low. Dem. say "ok
not of relief - don't want
permanent class of people
dependent on Govt."

Recovery

- 36 AAA
NRA } constitutional
says Congress

AAA
Agricultural Adjustment Admin.
~~curb~~ - curb production
raise prices --
set national quotas -

subsidy -
NRA
National Recovery Admin.

codes of conduct:

- ① production level determined
- ② price & profit
- ③ wages & workers
- ④ hours

to help business
you have to help both
business & workers

Fed. govt must have
say on wage/hrs.,
production limits -
cause it's not happening
on its own

Section 7A

"Fed. govt recognize right
of labor to organize"
create big labor to
deal w/ big business
[Countervailing power]

govt
- business & labor -
Advisory bargaining

Reform

1. Stockmarket & Banking

Securities P 1933 -

no buying stocks
w/ holding companies

Security & Exchange
Commission

SEC - prevent fraud in

Stock - M.

FDIC - 1933
Fed. Deposit Insurance
Act

Mortgage Guarantees -
money re finance
mortgage - don't let people
be taken off their
homes - a failure

April 7, 1978

αβγδεζηθικλμνοξπρσζτυψχψω
ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΠΡΣΤΥΨΧΨΩ

εγω ειμι - λεγει ο Ιησους ~~αμην~~ αμην, αμην, λεγω
learn resource center 204 Rm.

wed. - class

(Rd. 3 articles) cond. in Amer. soc. d. ~~to~~ therefore

History useless

what does Hs. do for us?

- " good

if the files have changed

- " good

now do you think ???



[periodicals reserve dot - vetinok's]

Great penalty for late papers

5-7 pp. don't summarize articles
- make concise statement of relevance of Hs.

Should the US. have attacked Germany ^{1st}
Britain - Germany war
US - total war

Feb. 25, 1917 - Zimmerman note intercepted
no public statement

march 1st 1917 - 2(?) Amer. ships sunk!

" 20, 1917 - WW. declares war

April 6, 1917 - congress " " - Zimmerman note
made public.

desert at vote; once ships sunk - most back

what motives are moral - not bankers, investors etc.

Bryan stay out of war is ~~ultimate~~ principle!

WW. Strict accountability. " "

govt seldom follows to people - generally leads
the people -

(WW II clearest war in 20th century: white/black issue Full public backing)

Always happened in war

① country always has to sell war

② " " " keep w/ check dissenters

George Creel committee: govt com. - sell war
many editors, ~~at~~ writers, artists hired to
push war - "all people" in essence "are
traitors"

April 10, 1978

40
<u>25</u>
65
35
<u>100</u>

wed. in Library 204 ~~Wed.~~ - Los Angeles
Fri. " " - New York

Prior to Depression: Big Business
New Deal gave us Big Labor, Big Govt
not dominant Amer. Society is Business
centralization helped us with WWII -

- we were in post war etc.

- str. & welfare society,

Is Amer. Society going in the wrong direction?

- do we need Big CIA, FBI, welfare?

- or should we localize programs - tone down
Labor, Business, Govt.

U.S. unprepared for WWII

- W. Wilson w/ Versailles (us should be intervening
power - active role) -- Voted down the treaty --
didn't want to have to use the League of Nations
- went back to isolationists ('20, '30)

after WWI -- us had 17th largest army.

- Allied powers (US, Fr, Br,) were weaker than
Axis (Gr, Jpn, It.) - we needed Russia

World was getting smaller -

U.S. Had to fight WW II

Issues in fighting war:

① Roosevelt knew we had to - public didn't want to -
loan - lease program (FDR) Bends public will →

As we did before (1916) speaks of Non-intervention
yet begins to step up aid - wanted to prepare
for WWII as much as possible

step out of Depression by making war material

- Kennedy's $\frac{1}{2}$ Space program -
- LBJ's war material -

- Japan not in Versailles - didn't recog. Japan as
equal power - Defeat Russia - big shock

During Japanese expansion - U.S. gives moral
instruction - (TR said if you're going to give
moral instruction you need Army or Navy - you
need to inflict our will) - Pearl Harbor defensive
move - etc.

~~2~~

Casablanca Conference ('43) unconditional surrender

Marshall plan (New Dealer) -- strip Germany of
industrial power - make agricultural power.

How to fight Germany. ① Strategic Bombing: cheap
(limits of air power) thought bombing would break
will -

② How to fight land war: Br. ~~out~~
guerrilla warfare - we wanted large frontal
attack

Delay D-Day [Russia upset - Churchill
wants to drain Ger. / Russia] distrust

John

April 13, 1978

Holocaust

wed. 7:30 - 8:00 - Amer. between the Wars

The Atomic Bomb -

what was important of Holocaust (last night) -
"Internment of Japanese"

major of whom were Amer. citizens,
can't compare treatment of Jap/Amer. & German/Amer.

The idea of ~~that~~ "Fashism" is not suppose to
rise in a high intellectual society -- but in
Germany was a great deal of intellectuals

- post-war developments - critical period:
reconstruction of Asia (Aug 6 1945)
Aug 9

Hiroshima - }
Nagasaki - }

"Truman never seriously thought of should
we not drop it?" Science or military not advised
completely -- w/ totally administrative process only
ask supporters of bomb.

- run the risk of the bomb not working - July 26, 1945
Aug. 8 Russia declares war - why didn't Truman
wait

405,000 - Amer. died in WWII (50 mill. in world)

no foresight: just win war then sit down consider post-war world:

positive idea: Russian invasion to Japan may have resulted in divided Japan (i.e. E & W germ.)
- we're not only going to defeat Japan but punish them (for Pearl Harbor etc.)

- Some historians say that A-bomb drop was illustration to USSR to get it together!

- say US start cold war (late ~~and~~ 2nd front, devastated homeland)

major powers are imperial powers
generally moralities is low priority on govt ~~state~~ policies -- survival more important

- volunteer army means were going to dependence
- Nuclear power -
volunteer (i.e. "professional" army)

Yalta (Internationalism vs. sphere of influence)

T Truman Doctrine
Marshall Plan] containment

Eisenhower - Continues through Massive Retaliation
(Atoms over conventional defense).

(John Foster Dulles)

Amer.	imperialism	of threat & force
Soviet	"	of concrete control

(Major powers are by def. imperial powers)

- ① All parties to call con. in April '45 - (UN Charter)
- ② Soviet Union given 3 assembly votes
(England has "3 votes" [Eng., Canada, Australia])
- ③ US. has absolute veto in Security Council
('so Stalin will trust him' - Stalin [USSR] has inferiority complex)
- ④ Free election in Europe -
- ⑤ won't build strong Poland at expense of Russia & will give Kuril Islands and basic control of Manchuria -
-- in return for attack of Japan by USSR., 3 mos. after defeat of Germany
- ⑥ Trial of German war crimes -- territories & occupied areas -

- All these issues to show Russia that we should try to live together -
- FDR tries to convince Stalin by his charisma
- Free elections never occur (1948 no democratic govt left in Eastern Europe) in signing of Atlantic Charter Stalin said that he wouldn't stand for any Anti-Stalin forces in E. Europe. -- Communist Victories

April 12, 1945 - FDR dies

May(?) 1945 - "Take as much territory as possible" Churchill

Truman leaves decision up to Eisenhower ~~Mr.~~ - who feels that #1 is destruction of Germany ~~the~~ Army not take land.

(German "stronghold" to the south east of Berlin - that's where the U.S. goes for jet Prague - Berlin)

May 3-7, 1945 Germany surrenders cap. of Czechoslovakia
40's - 50's foreign policy
After war European state of collapse

Truman Doctrine - we will intervene militarily anywhere ~~where~~ where communists threat to democratic ~~govt~~ ^{govt}

April 26, 1978

- Passive Public Will
- Non-participation in Politics & Emotion
- ~~Corporate~~ Teamwork
- Anarchial Individualism
- Farm Morality & Disorder

Since WWII
US best of wealthy

→ 60's 70's

Assertive Public Will

Passive Public Will

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Political Liberty | : Rational Reform ① | Non-Participation in Politics & Emotions ⑤ |
| Economic | : Entrepreneurship ② | Corporate Teamwork ⑥ |
| Social | : Prosperity & Social Order ③ | Anarchial Individualism ⑦ |
| Ethical | : Public Morality & Law & Order ④ | Farm Morality & Disorder ⑧ |
- (secular & religious)

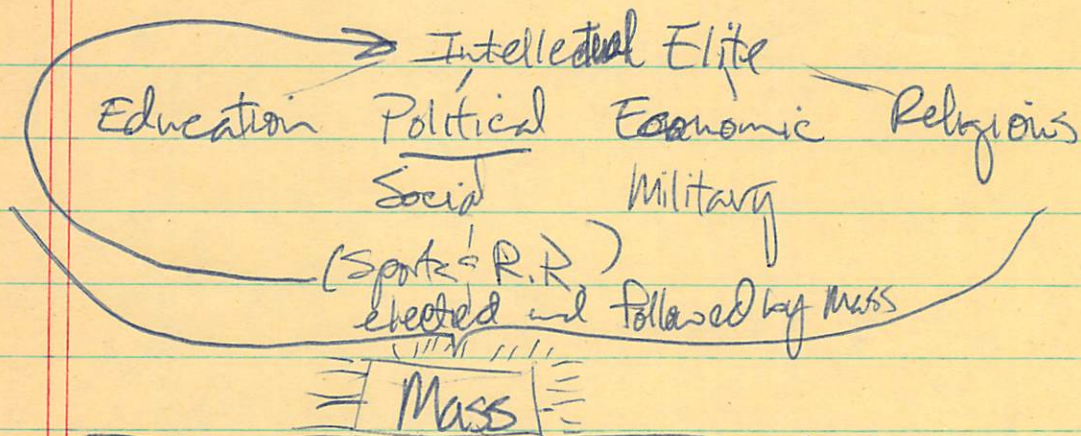
[Prosperity or Cross-Materialism underlying
Failure in American Society]

Intellectual Critics

(Changes are they
Rational Reform good for law
& order or self?)

- ①
- ②
- ③
- ④
- ⑤ 53% of eligible voters (registered) vote for Pres.
- ⑥ won't blow whistle - I'm just a part
- ⑦ "Feels good, do it!"
- ⑧ Believe it is wrong; but doesn't necessarily do anything to support it

Basis (Historical) of Amer. Politics:
Intellectual Elite



← Func. Ed - technician to fit in system

Cross-section displace Intell. elite by Sports & R & R
Elites - not listening to or care about the Intell.
programs

Cross - capitalists and not good Americans (Amer.: following
Vettersan's idea of Elitism)

Disorderly ^P Society - inability to control technology

~~April 8~~ May 1, 1978

Segregated Army: Fighting for freedom against
Nazism but ...

to - women
Blacks - get jobs
w/ men overseas
labor shortage

90% blacks in rural south after war
move to urban dwellers ---

Urbanization causes:

① centralization

② concentrated element

- at war's end many women & Blacks are
displaced - 50's prosperity allow displaced
Blacks to consumer based industries -
(good wage relative to past -- which increases
your expectations [people who expect more &
fear that what they have will be taken = revolution/
not from the poor but the working class])

③ Rising Expectation 1954

④ Brown vs. Board of Ed. (Topeka, Kan.) - segregation
has to end - no more "separate but equal."
"equal protection of the law" - 14th Amend.
struck down "separate but equal" Plessy vs.
?"

1955 - School integration - deliberate speed

1957 - Ike pres. : Central High School Little
Rock, Arkansas. --- Ike enforces law & land!

1957 Civil Rights Act - Black voting rights
60) " " " - Fed. referees, make sure no
ones being intimidated!

difficult to talk about 'Slaves in Eastern Europe
with 'Slaves' still in this country." -

NACCP - ~~Sh~~ Marshall - go to court "white
Nation Urban League" - man's document should
be black man's document."

2nd Martin Luther King: '55 Bus boycott.
in Montgomery, Ala. by 56 buses
integrated

Soul Force - must have ~~p~~ pessimist attitude
follow Thoreau, Gandhi - passivism
the way of Civil Disobedience - break laws
peacefully w/ moral cause

— Sit-ins at lunch in counter's

by 1960 -- Northern whites see occurrence
of Black civil Rights as good, South
would have to give up Southern White
Supremacy - passivism show that black
were not into radical revolution + South duty not
North

Congress ~~at~~ Race Equality - CORE - Freedom
rides (white's organization) go in public places
& occupy -

SNCC - support necessary black violence

NAACP

UL

Southern Christian

CORE

SNCC

1962 - mounting activism - James Meredith enrolls
in Miss. Univ

63 - ~~Birmingham~~ ^{Birmingham}, Ala. leads gen discrimination

→ march (King)

Eugene "Bull" Connor - Chief of Police

Chief of Police using force to break up peaceful
movement, on T.V. (press coverage) gained

Sympathy -

George Wallace deny 2 Black women entrance to
Ala. U.
63 March to Lincoln memorial

"I Have dream" speech = "we shall overcome"

- pessimism ~~time~~ tied in with the desecration
of Amer. society

Some blacks didn't want to pay the price for freedom

- can we force freedom on them

can they opt out.

May 3, 1978

late 50's early 60's

- Nationalization of Civil Rights movement
- Kennedy Administration "liberal" - i.e. sympathetic to C.R.M.
- elevation of Black appointees in Fed. bureaucracy

J.F.K. used executive power & not legislative power for C.R. legislation.

J.F.K. - "liberal" & liberal - yet always under-estimated C.R.M.

- ① politics of re-election
- ② major Southern Power
- ③ under-estimated C.R.M.

- R.K. - Alab. & Miss. U. sends troops when these U.'s integrated

- Birmingham march - J.F.K. conservative support

- Washington march

Johnson Administration

C.R.A. 1964 - Fair employment Act commission

- after C.R.A. that J.F.K.'s

L.B.J. "War on Poverty" (1964)

Rise consciousness of Poor in Rural South: result of looking at Negroes

800 mil. dollars on poverty program

C.R.A. 1965

CRA 1965

"Selma March" - Right to Vote; on brutal Police Riot on TV.
Senseless brutality

CRA 1965

- ① Fed. examiners to insure vote
- ② outlaw literacy test
24th Amendment (1965)
- ③ Outlaw poll tax

End of major per. in history

1865-1965 - economic peonage

Slavery ~~continued~~ but not "enforced"
getting political & constitutional rights was a
milestone but tip of iceberg

64-65 split of CRM

- white liberals being thrown out of CRM

- Black Riots "not race riots" "not black vs.

whites" -- "Black rioted against property"
(Cause of economic peonage)

Conver local impressions - "white racism"

66-67 - CR split

67: Black Panthers Huey Newton

67 SNCC: "Black Power" in integration but
Student Non-violent C. conversion black owned

- Car Dealers - white etc. borrow 9% 16%

black - borrow 16% - 32%

Supermarkets - produce to whites then
blacks (at higher price).

- Move to control not integration! (separate but equal?)

Black consciousness - "we're making moves
in constitutional rights but in the economic and social
sector we're not going to get ~~it~~ it done -- we want
control, rather, of our own culture"

Black culture - not white culture in Black skin

- "black can ~~be~~ practice black culture but be good
American."

- Black movement dissipates

BROWN REVOLUTION - etc.

- lagged behind because of no white liberal support -

the movement tied in immediately with the
militancy -

advantage - culture just over the border - continual
renewal of culture

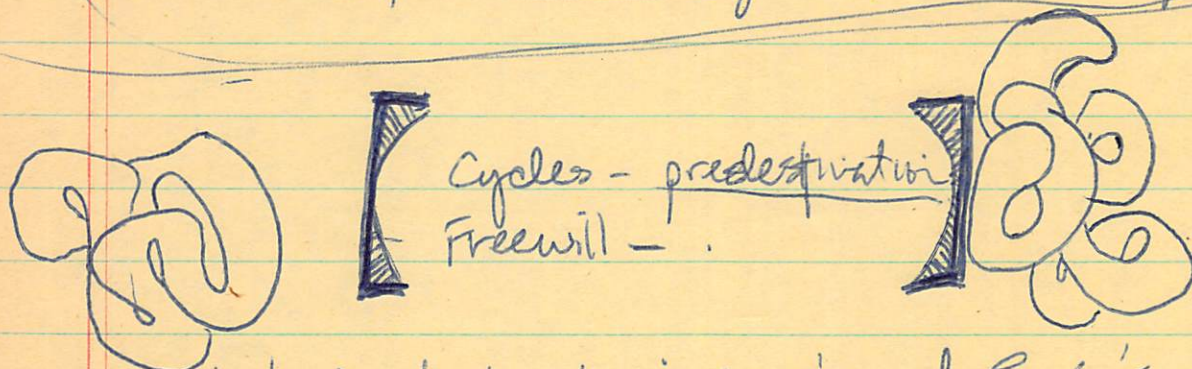
~~THE~~ WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

No sexual Equality today - unless Gov't or Public Agencies

GAY MOVEMENT

Right for political/constitutional equal

winning & Resolving Constitutional Rights -



- looking at the beginning; end of 60's
- (60) - Ike - military industrial complex threatening demo - erosion of military & corporation - "nasty tendency" --
- late 60's Ralph Nader - multi-national corp. influence on U.S. govt
- concentration of econ. power & centralisation of ~~power~~ govt.

Rural - Urban - Suburbs

defused people
people spreading out -- white govt, econ power
centralizing

urban

blacks, puerto Ricans, cubans

Suburbans

white

has big govt reached its maximum efficiency (in reference to Big cities).

should we dismantling govt & business

Should we dismantle big govt.
business setting standards -

→ Econ. / Social Boundaries

Foreign policy & Federal Administration
(might be feasible to dismantle economic/
political centralization)

- defense (atomic warfare)

① can we afford it

② too many Amer. involve in war - good jobs

No war or poverty or integration

① no redistribution of wealth

② " " " " of housing.

Therefore no one is willing to lose a job
over defense [closing bases]

- JFK. escalate Arms race; defense spending

- J.F.K. to L.B.J. - 10 years of straight

prosperity - increase space race, increase
military armament. [liberal version of
Hoover's trickle down]

(Problem of Power Empire: control of technology)
ours; Russia's inability to cease Arms race.

✓ JFK. (Robert Dulles) eventual confrontation.
- realized neither US nor USSR. can't afford
nuclear war -- developed peaceful "co-existence"
"Détente"

infigural. peace worldwide Pax Americana
let every nation be, well either ill or well...
support my friend, oppose my foe...
later said.

"we're only 9% of the world population.
America is no omnipotent. There are 91%
of the world out there -- we can't press
our influence on them..."

✓ JFK realize "world diversity":
most of the world doesn't care about the US or
USSR -- just don't blow up the world.

- economic war in 3rd world
- in Aid ✓ JFK "didn't" demand them to toe
American line -

Why Soviet Union go for it:
they've shortages in their own country - never
be able compete econ. with U.S.
- heavy military involvement

→ JFK actions vs rhetoric:

USSR wouldn't comply therefore developed counter-insurgency. CIA, Green Berets grow.

It used in Latin America: Bay of Pigs, handful of guerrillas -- "Castro pressure power -- send in guerrillas people will revolt -- we, we will win easy."

Economic Alliance Program in Latin America.

U.S. Backs to create Economic democracy.

Vietnam: → JFK Administration.

May 10, 1978

Why go to war.

① SEATO South East Asia Treaty Organization
Agreed to aid treaty nation in the event of communist aggression -- treaty didn't oblige us to enter war --

Gen MacArthur "Catastrophic if U.S. gets involved in land war in Asia."

② Defend democracy & Catholic minority.

Robert McNamara -- technological engineer

Full Ratio; fight war w/o man power -- win war by simply killing numbers -- "cheap war"
Dresden, Germ.; can't break their will with bombs --

(why go to war in S.E. Asia)

① meeting w/ Khrushchev - giving E. Germany control of Berlin food supply - airlift

② Cuban Missile Crisis -

- K. pushed N.F.K. to the wall --- why?
N.F.K. seen by N.K. ~~that~~ as a ~~Frank~~ ^{Down}, Socialite, ~~light~~ ^{weight} intellectual
idea: We have to make this stand in South East Asia!

- N.F.K. by S.V. w/ aid - accept democratic principles - S.V. corrupt govt.

- didn't work!! - N.F.K. didn't view war in S.E.A.

as country seeking liberation but as a
outside ~~role~~ of aggression!

- why did we stay so long -

'63 - people of U.S. couldn't handle (psychologically)
~~defeat~~ ←

'64 - election

- will to fight; can't be stop by super-powers

what are the long range consequences?

- rather than learn to be pick and choose to
whom we will intervene more carefully -
we simply will not intervene anywhere.

'45 \Rightarrow domestic / foreign policy

~~essay~~ essay - foreign policy

- principles of foreign

- containment under Truman

- " " "

" Ike?

determine "detente" { Kennedy
Johnson - Nixon?

Korea

Vietnam

= significant Hungarian Revolution
Nature of American Society

- soc./pol. value (50's, 60's, 70's)

["ME" generation -- or "TOXIC" gen -- junk food, drugs,]

America since the war (II) -- VALUES -

downsizers - they appear every generation

- we're doing okay -

= welfare state - didn't look, reached point that it should be dismantled, solved social problems.

[stress individuality over group -- vs. (eg.) Norway socialistic welfare state stress group over individuality]

- foreign policy

- values in Amer. society.

} state in specifics
Essay - opinions

- non-draft Army
- the "Me" Society - 2
- Indian Movement

Huble questions: The strong parallel in all articles - what was it about Elvis, Dean, what do they say about society - bring them together - post '45 society - reduce each article down to one sentence statement.

(2 blue books)

- Must take final appropriate time
- willingness to sacrifice, willingness to fight. ---

//

FOREIGN POLICY

Basic prob. in Amer. Policy -- raw materials [chrome, copper, etc.] needs -- econ. dependency on Africa -- (support existing govt) -- free issue that there'll be black rule (should be supporting "Freedom Fighters" -- blacks -- but should we support moderates, liberals etc.)

Japan - no military arm -- U.S. troops defend democracy in Asia -- Should we encourage them to develop Army.

--- Totalitarian govt over demo. govt. ---

Historically Army been social institution -
upward social mobility : seen in U.S. --

To what extent are they meeting their own military
need --

For. policy may undergo change --
warring China, U.S. play both sides

Arms race -

Atomic capability



May 17, 1978

Stability of 2-party system

(Actually impossible to elect left or right wing
to presidency --

not really but stability is in people -

conservatism -- things can be done within
the system -- inherent optimism

(Violence always a part) no massive unionism
always conservatism ~~not at all~~

don't get things in American society because
they are just or same but because sense of timing

- changes due to people willing (able to afford) change -- note that not massive bounty available there is a move slightly to right -

if possessed are refused they will pull to the right!

Democrat slightly more (inherently) more to left - welfare, road programs; Republics more right -

as influence decreases the possessed scramble to retain wealth ex.

Jarvis' game: pitting possessed (land-holding) middle-class vs. dispossessed middle-class -

IMPACT OF AFFLUENCE: Always felt that it's always better to work within system than without
— ENERGY CRISIS - "passing fail" or real crises than alternative ~~that~~ energy source

INDIVIDUAL SHOULD BE ACTIVE - cannot go thru life thinking that all you can do is enjoy life -- Unions - Feather bedding // University: "can't fail" OUTSIDE WORLD: you CAN FAIL -- subversives on the march
Wake up to the world condition.

new things policies & Amer. foreign policy

Turkey Greece Taiwan doctrine

Muchewar Test Ban treaty -

- Santo Domingo -

- Detente

- Ike & Lebanon

- Italy & France

strategies / changes

Truman on

Nature & American society (values)

50's → 60's → 70's

Abortion - Gay Rights - Oil consumption -

Family structure - Decline & Religion -

Integration - Urbanization -

70's From Left to Right → "sick generation"

Result of welfare materialistic state =

Left: materialistic "won't share bounty"

Right: welfare "on the dole."

Basic morality: prohibit pre-marital sex & marriage to stay
-- allow promiscuity & marriage 'til 'lin no longer
satisfying.

Either were the sickest generation --
result of Victorian/Capitalist generation.

- have just sheep

possessed : de possessed

middle class - homeowner - ~~non~~ homeowner

historically \rightarrow voters \rightarrow non-voters

New Deal - basic principles - long range effects.

peaceful ^{status} ~~co~~existence - détente

Dalles - continued & liberation

modern incentive was - limited

Truman Doctrine : containment

South Korea -- invaded by North Korea.

can't fight ~~ours~~ Zairean 'cause Congress
must declare it - - forgot about it in

South Korea = South Vietnam --

creating illusion that you can get away
with lawlessness

- society "organized tyranny"

MacArthur: "potential presidential candidate---"

under Truman, obsery // S. Korea not that import-
ant - - - - - S. American

Draft army \leftrightarrow All volunteer Army

concept of total pleasure:

"what's good for us"

50's - affluence - materialism

60's - reform - materialism (reform cheap)

70's - ~~materialism~~ materialism (reform means sacrifice)

"Materialism is not a different disease."

materialism - is not in itself is not ~~wrong~~.

Fundamental differences between "everyone should have running water" & "everyone should have dope & drugs"

ex. "every family should have 1 car" or

"every family should have at least 3 30,000\$ dollar cars"

essays

opinions

what's right/wrong Reagan policy

" " " Welfare State

Destroyed Authority !!

Know major issue, analyse clearly -
responsible to know issue

B. 8

AHA Newsletter, Vol. 15 No. 9 (December, 1977), pp. 3-6.

The Relevance of History: Three Views

David Herbert Donald, Charles Warren Professor of American History at Harvard University, recently published an article that has provoked a number of reactions. This article, titled "Our Irrelevant History," appeared in the September 8, 1977 edition of *The New York Times*. On September 26, 1977, Edward L. Keenan, professor of history and dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, published a response in the *Times*. Newsletter readers may not have seen this interesting exchange of views; thus, the two articles are reprinted here. The Newsletter also received and includes a response to Donald from Blanche Wissen Cook, associate professor of history at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY.

Mr. Donald's View —Our Irrelevant History*

In a few days college classes will begin again, and I am once more preparing new lectures on American history. For teachers this is always a time for self-scrutiny and self-doubt, but this fall, as I begin my fourth decade of college teaching, I am even more troubled than usual in deciding what I ought to do in the classroom.

Surely my function is not to make certain that the several hundred undergraduates enrolled in my courses absorb additional facts about American history. Of course, a great many of my students are woefully ignorant of the past. If asked to estimate the population of the United States in any decade since the 1790s, most would be off by at least 50 percent. Few can distinguish between William Henry Harrison and Benjamin Harrison. Only a handful can unscramble the alphabetic names of the major New Deal agencies. But these deficiencies—like the many similar ones reported in last year's *New York Times* survey of college students' knowledge of American history—do not seriously trouble me.

A student who really needs to know such facts can find them more readily, and I fear more accurately, in Richard B. Morris's *Encyclopedia of American History* than in my lec-

tures. And, hard as it is for me to admit, most students probably don't need to know the answers. It is entirely possible to lead a happy and successful life without knowing when the Civil War ended or being certain whether Theodore Roosevelt preceded Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Nor is it my classroom duty to train a future generation of historians. Most of my undergraduates already have other careers in mind. Since the job prospects for historians are somewhat bleaker than those for blacksmiths, those few students who think of making history their profession should be encouraged to look elsewhere. Since my students have no professional interest in the discipline of history, it is not important to me to explain to them the limitations of the *Congressional Record* as a source or to introduce them to the mysteries of the manuscript census returns. Nor do I need to teach them much about the historiographical controversies that scholars discuss among themselves too much.

It really does not matter whether these undergraduates know five major criticisms of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis or whether they associate the psychoanalytical interpretation of Andrew Jackson with the name of Michael Paul Rogin.

What undergraduates want from their history teachers is an understanding of how the American past relates to the present and the future. But if I teach what I believe to be the truth, I can only share with them my sense of the irrelevance of history and of the bleakness of the new era we are entering.

For up to the present generation, Americans have been, as David M. Potter called us, "The People of Plenty." From the earliest settlements, our abundance of land, of agricultural and mineral wealth, of energy sources, shaped the national character. From that abundance we have derived our most amiable American traits—our individualism, our generosity, our incurable optimism; to it we also owe our wastefulness,

our extravagance and our careless self-confidence.

Abundance led Americans to develop distinctive ways of coping with social problems. When the American farmer protested against exploitation by merchants, when the American laborer objected to the power of the capitalists, when the West complained about the dominance of the East, we were never required to consider any thoroughgoing restructuring of American society. To all complaints that the slices of the American pie were unevenly distributed, we responded not by making the pieces more even but by making the pie larger. Material abundance made it possible for everybody to receive more.

Now the age of abundance has ended. The people of plenty have become the people of paucity. Our stores of oil and natural gas are rapidly running out, and other natural resources will soon be exhausted. If we save what is left, we choke our economy; if we use it, we impoverish our posterity.

Consequently, the "lessons" taught by the American past are today not merely irrelevant but dangerous. We can no longer answer demands for equalizing the rewards of our society by cooking up a bigger pie.

Instead, as our problems grow constantly larger, the chances of solving them drastically diminish. Unlike every previous American generation, we face impossible choices. If we have guns, we cannot have butter. If we reduce unemployment, we produce inflation. If we hire women, we must fire men. If we give blacks preference in admission to colleges and professional schools, we exclude whites.

What, then, can a historian tell undergraduates that might help them in this new and unprecedented age? Perhaps my most useful function would be to disenchant them from the spell of history, to help them see the irrelevance of the past, to assist them in understanding what Lincoln meant in saying, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present."

Perhaps, too, I can make it easier for some to face a troubled future by reminding them to what a limited extent humans control their own destiny.

As I begin my new set of lectures on American history, I will take my text from Reinhold Niebuhr: "Nothing that is worth doing can be achieved in our lifetime; therefore we must be saved by hope."

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Mr. Keenan's View —One Harvard Historian to Another*

Dear David:

It was a pleasant surprise to come upon your essay "Our Irrelevant History" in today's *New York Times*, and to discover, from your first few paragraphs, how similar are our concerns in what you call this "time of self-scrutiny and self-doubt."

I, too, struggle each semester with uncertainty about the worth of "facts" in the classroom, and even, when the hour is late, with darker doubts about the worthiness of my activity in general. I, too, despair for the young historians who can find no jobs, and for the Republic that provides them none.

But I had always assumed that those who, like yourself, were occupied with the "mainstream," our own history, had less cause for such misgivings than does a teacher of medieval Russian history. How fortunate, I thought, were you, to be imparting the outlines of the common national experience

to students who might shape its continuation around your interpretation of its meaning!

The more, then, my surprise in discovering that you and I emerge from our pre-term self-examination with such radically different conclusions. It may be that temperament is at work here, or perhaps a half-generational difference, but I suspect that other factors are involved as well. Two of these are, I would suggest, the fact that I have been studying and teaching a history and culture that are not originally my own, and the fact that ideology, the materialist interpretation of history, and the continuity of national culture are so central to any consideration of Russia's history.

It is this professional experience, I think, that leads me to profound disagreement with what I take to be the central point of your essay: "Consequently, the 'lessons' taught by the American past are today not merely irrelevant but dangerous."

Relevance, like other forms of meaning, is contingent upon context and mode of thought. History is relevant, if only because young people want, as you yourself say, "an understanding of how the American past relates to the present and the future," and because that understanding will influence their self-perception and behavior.

History is relevant, if only because readers will respond to your eloquent essay out of an intuitive awareness that historical argument is relevant. Logically, indeed, if history were in fact irrelevant, your statement that it is irrelevant would be irrelevant—and we both know that such is not the case.

The question, then, is not *whether* history is relevant—individuals and nations will continue to find relevance in historical fact or myth, whatever our poor efforts—but what the relevance of a given historical experience might be to a given current or future one—that is, *how* is it relevant?

Here I come again to context, and to mode of thought. While it would be imprudent and graceless to challenge your interpretation of American history as such, I would suggest that, in a broader context, one might derive a slightly different meaning from the facts to which you refer.

For other nations and societies have had periods of wealth and abundance, and have responded to them, in terms of social and institutional development and the production of human resources, differently—I would say less well. One thinks, for example, of Spain in the 16th and early 17th centuries.

Other nations have spread over vast territories rich in good land and natural resources, ravishing and fouling them much as we have—perhaps worse—and now find themselves faced not only with depletion and pollution, but with social, political and spiritual problems far greater than our own. Consider Russia or, to a lesser extent, Brazil.

It is not my purpose to be self-congratulatory, for which, I agree, there is little reason; the causality in the above case is, so far as I can tell, dissociated from any innate moral or spiritual national characteristics. But it is significant that the fortunate immigrants who spread across this continent built not only factories but schoolhouses, free and public, not only mills but—of the same brick—independent colleges, not only jails but—of the same granite—courthouses, however troubled and beset with doubt these institutions may now be.

And there is some meaning—again in relative context—in the fact that this population emerged from its brief period of abundance as the bearer of a culture that can embrace both

the most obscene consumption and the most determined—and most powerful—ecology movement; both gross social and racial injustice and the strongest—and most effective—civil and human rights movement, both remarkable cultural stability and rapid social change.

It is not for nothing that Europeans scratch their heads at what has happened in this country in the last two decades or so, "without Marx or Jesus."

You say that the lessons of the past are not only irrelevant, but also "dangerous"; I judge from your further argument that you mean primarily the socio-economic lessons drawn from the age of abundance as we face a more Spartan economic future.

Such a treatment, as you will appreciate, sets off several alarms in the mind of a Russian historian. What is dangerous, it seems to me, is not so much the lessons of the past as the risk of being drawn by present preoccupations into a one-sided and life-denying materialistic view of that past, a view I know not to be yours.

The most important "means of production" and the most crucial resources are human resources, those embodied in a highly trained, inventive and responsive citizenry. Such resources we still have, even in our present travail, in an abundance that is the child of our abundance.

Some of these resources—our students—are, for a time, committed to your care and mine. We must strive against our doubts to teach them to see the past in a context in which they can discover not only that history is relevant, but that they are.

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Ms. Cook's View —A Response

David H. Donald's lament for history would be poignant, if it were not so wrong-headed. For many years, decades really, students of history have been taught the correct virtues to celebrate. But many of these virtues were myths. Professor Donald argues that we have been a people of plenty who everywhere shared equitably the American pie. When the pie failed to get around we just baked more. Now, an age of scarcity is upon us and Professor Donald despairs.

He compounds the myth—which stands revealed as a fraud not only for our time but throughout history. He writes "If we hire women, we must fire men. If we give blacks preference . . . we must exclude whites." For centuries prosperity existed for a small group of white men who benefitted from the unpaid and underpaid labor of everyone else. Little has changed. Black unemployment has never been higher. Everywhere minorities and women who were hired during the expansive 1960s are being fired. The myth of reverse discrimination is an outrage in a society that continues to discriminate against minorities of all kinds—not only on the basis of race and sex, but for reasons of familial homeland, religion, sexual preference and political persuasion.

The fact that the age of simple abundance for a small class is coming to an end is no cause for despair. It is a fact of history. History is about time and change and people. When I studied history nobody talked much about people. Massacres of native Americans and the facts of such revolutionary American groups as the Wobblies (the International Workers of the World) and the organized labor movement were sub-

Worker mentality

imperialism

jects to be avoided—like discussions of money at high tea.

Many students today are already workers. It is true that they do not want to become professional historians. But they do want to learn history: history that is essential to their lives and to an understanding of their world. For the past ten years I have taught a student population comprised largely of New York City policemen and women. They want to understand the relationship between poverty and violence, the complexities of war and peace. They want to know why although they make in dollar-count three times more than their fathers, so many of whom were also cops, they have no more ability to save. They want to know how inflation is regulated by such institutions as the Federal Reserve Bank. They seek the connections between the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the crisis of our municipalities. All those connections that have been obscured for decades by myths of prosperity and historical hypocrisy are now accessible to the students of the 1970s who more and more demand hard knowledge.

Contrary to Professor Donald's disclaimer, it is up to the practitioners of our profession to explore not only the limitations of the *Congressional Record*, but the largely unused and much fuller records of congressional hearings. And our students need to know that when they cannot find a document, hard-working journalists tell us should be there, they must look for the appropriate doctrine—like "the doctrine of plausible presidential deniability." (e.g.: in an era of assassination and covert operation, not all events will be accompanied by historical documents. In part, that is so the presi-

dent, when asked, can plausibly deny any knowledge.)

With so much of our history hanging in still unopened closets, we can only rejoice at a world so rapidly changing that we must seek deeper truths in our history classes. Professor Donald is right. Many of the "lessons" taught by professional historians are not "merely irrelevant but dangerous." They always were. Because they were never true.

The West never did have resources without end. It maintained control over resource-rich territories that now proclaim their sovereignty. And we have now to recognize their independent existence. Such change demands accommodation. For our survival we must seek a world order based on the recognition of planetary scarcity and mutual need. That is progress.

Only people, not the vagaries of "hope" as David Donald concluded, are capable of progress. People can control their own destiny. All human history is a record of the continual struggle to do so—and the frequent and gallant triumphs people have achieved. But control is Donald's word. We need to create a human destiny marked not by control but security and dignity. All over this globe people are embarked on that struggle. We live in revolutionary times, and revolution is a process not an event.

If we aspire to teach history we must avoid the temptation to become antiquarians. During World War II, the great French historian Marc Bloch, a victim of the holocaust, wrote of the difference. Antiquarians revere buildings and institutions. They romanticize the past. Historians are citizens of the present who love life.

SOCIALIST

What undergraduates ~~learn~~ from their history teachers is an understanding of how the American past relates to the present and the future. But if I teach what I believe to be the truth, I can only share with them my sense of the irrelevance of history and the bleakness of the new era we are

of Democratic Govts diminishing || entertaining

"I wouldn't say that History is irrelevant any more than ^{that} the future is irrelevant." Len Keeler

① ~~More~~ Irrelevant History?

i. Relevance?

a. problem-solving

b. time/space world

2. Roots

a. Values-

b. not clinging to the past but pressing forward onto the future

c. end of a process-

② ~~What should a prof. present~~

d. ex.

- protestantism: reformation important

- tendencies: expressionism

Russian

German

American

- relevance -

noticing problems

II What should History prof. present?

① world picture

② tendencies

I Relevance?

A. what is relevant:

1. problem solving
2. time / space locale

B. Values

1. Clinging to the past: "antiquarianism" Mrs. Cook
2. End of a process

C. ex.

1. Protestantism: origin out of reform or ~~Antithesis~~ ^{Ancient Christianity}
2. Studying tendencies: expansionism
 - a. Russia
 - b. Germany
 - c. American

II What should a prof do?

A. Framework of time/space

1. Suggesting tendencies vs. indoctrination
2. Survey course restrictions
 - a. course material vs. semester
 - b. general requirement stigma

B. No fact is "irrelevant" in itself

SITZ
ZITZ en leben
existence

History
Relevant
process
Irrelevant

- The Tree
- Receive

America in the twentieth century in history
Paterson.

I

WW II: the great divide

A. The expansion of the govt (pp. 307-

1. From welfare programs to wartime powers.

a. from Mr. New Deal to Mr. Win-the-war

b. conservative Congress (labor legislation / taxation): Smith-Connally (1943) -- 30 day "cool off" period.

c. balance of power in pol. parties shift to right →

1) Repub. looking for victory in '48

2) CCC & WPA killed; social security, TVA, NLRB, minimum wage intact.

3) defense spending ↑ 7.2 bill to 17 bill.

"Having built a partial welfare state, Congress was not about to dismantle it."

d. explosion of size of fed. govt - defense spending (9 bill '40 to 98 bill in '45)

e. expansive Keynesian approach - deficits modest from 46-63 - little pumping could not hurt

F. ~~growth~~ growth of presidential power -

1) the Amer. people are authentic prophet.

2) If TR began 20th cen. Amer. situation w/ the presidency, WWII transformed it into a long lived affair.

2. BIG GOV'T: BLESSING OR CURSE.

a. reformer welcome big presidency (conservative Congress) - in '37

b. by '45 activist central administration was a cardinal tenant of mod. Amer. liberalism

I

A.

2.

c. Even during WWII folks ~~were~~ worried - over-centralization & power (oligarchy)

1) Office of War Information

2) Handling of civil liberties

i) conscientious objectors

ii) Japanese-American "detention" centers

3) "temporarily" problems

d. ~~Pre~~ Bureaucratic confusion ('39)

1) War Resources Board

↓ Commission
Advisory ~~Committee~~ of the Council of National Defense

↓
Office of Production Management

2) War Production Board

i) No "Czar"

ii) "there is something to be said... for having a little conflict between agencies, a little rivalry is stimulating... the fact that there's someone else in the field who knows what you're doing is a strong incentive to strict honesty."

iii) WPB needed authority to establish priorities for allocation of scarce commodities - Controlled Materials

Plan

3) leaping ahead in War Production
(syn. rubber ~ 44:1 mill. tons - ceramic peak in '43 109,000 tons).

4) RESULT:

"Production Miracle" -- people see omnipotent America that could move w/ lightning speed & demolish enemies all over the world. Business men praise themselves -- over looking tremendous govt spending to boost system

2. The Military - industrial complex.

i. favor to big business

ii) capital & experience -- the ropes

f. Trends

B. THE WAR & AMERICAN SOCIETY

1. "Stuart Chase, a liberal economist, surveyed Amer. society at the end of the war & concluded that property had worked wonders that all the measures of the New Deal had failed to bring about. The facts," he said, "show a better world for the common man than liberals in 1938 could have ever expected for a generation."

a. Every econ. indicator behind Chase --

i) regardless of rationing of gas, coffee, tin, etc.

ii) National income (\$1 billion in '40 - \$32 billion in '45)

b. redistribution of wealth.

i) bottom 5th labor force ↑ 68%

ii) top fifth " " ↑ 20%

iii) bigger pie.

c. Great movement of already mobile people (urbanization)

d. Status of women -- employment

i) thought to be temporary (in '46)

ii) in '51 max over 40%

e. Family development

i) wouldn't wait for marriages -- or babies

1

B

1.

2.

- ii) baby boom 'till mid-50's
- iii) by '65 post-war babies swap educational institution and create "youth-oriented" culture
- iv) Result:

felt by some as very negative: causing

a) increase divorce

b) " juvenile crime etc.

F. Basic anxiety for the future

2. Have-nots → Have's → Have-nots = revolution (unrest)

a. Labor Unions - gains

b. Blacks

3. Discrimination

a. NAACP - growth

b. Roosevelt - the Fair Employment Practices Commission

c. Black Muslim

d. CORE leaders - sit-ins (the North)
Congress on Race Equality

SUMMARY:

"Black and workers like farmers, Businessmen, veterans, even specialized groups like educators, had caught the scent of prosperity & they wanted desperately to take it once the war was over... this militancy amid plenty, this revolution & expectations this scramble not only for security but for slices of an ever larger pie --- all these were among the major social developments of the "Great Leap to WWII"

HISTORY:
RELEVANT OR IRRELEVANT?

*You raise some interesting issues, but your analysis
is general and brief.*

by-

Joseph B. Bustillos

A Paper Submitted to Dr. Jalenik of the History
Department of Loyola Marymount University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
HS 162 A

April 21

1978

B-

~~late 1~~

I wouldn't say that History is irrelevant
any more than that the future is irrelevant
- Len Keeler

When asking the question: "Is the study of History relevant or fruitful to our present situation in life?" one first needs to determine what is "relevant."

Living in our emerging "valueless" society would normally tend to reduce the number of options left to answer the question about the relevance of history. In a socialist society one would expect an answer such as: "Whatever is good for the state is relevant and good." Whereas in a capitalistic society the expected answer would be, as Mr. Donald so unconsciously presented, "Whatever is good in promoting economic expansion, most importantly in my wallet, is relevant and good." Unfortunately, none of these views are sufficient. They are far too shallow and superficial for any real study of history. "...For man does not live by bread alone..."

The relevance of history can be seen when one considers that we, as human beings, live in a sphere of time and space. Living in a sphere of time and space essentially means that we as a people, as a nation, as individuals, did not just "out of the blue" come into existence, but that we have a background, a ~~zeit perhaps.~~ zits en leben, a history. The fact that our own personal ~~history~~ spans little more than twenty years does not make all that went before meaningless. We, in many ways, are the result

of what went before. The facts of that past are just as important or relevant to us as the methods used by Leonardo de Vinci in sculpting his ^{No} David are important in understanding or grasping the meaning or significance of the statue David.

An example of the relevance of history to today's contemporary society would be the claim made by Protestantism that it is not just a phenomenon that appeared during the Reformation but that it is the actual ancient tradition of the church that was lost during the early centuries of Christianity. It might be argued that the relevance of this proposition is elusive but ~~tho~~ ^{to} the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of young Catholics, such as myself, that are leaving the church to join Protestantism such a claim to historical validity is of the utmost importance. The foundation of our faith rests upon the validity of their claim. *One can also argue that all "history bound" religions are mixed in myth and that a new religion is the only "valid"*

Yet in seeing the validity of ~~his~~ history we cannot permit ~~ourselves~~ ourselves to become what Ms. Cook calls "Antiquarians," revering the past for its existence and not for its merit. Such a tendency, seen especially in high school history courses, often leads teachers to push the names and dates without relaying to the pupils the relevance of these facts to their own existence. The ideal, therefore, is to recognize the lessons that history performs for us while at the same time not losing grip of our own present reality.

As far as what a history professor should do in a survey course is easily established, once one recognizes the value

and the relevance of history. One of the most important factors (one of which my own experience has shown to be lacking in most courses) is for the professor to build an adequate framework or structure of dates and places. The students need to conceptualize the on going process of time. To really appreciate the landscape of particular period of history it is helpful to have a well charted map. The purpose of such a map is, in part, to make history, or at least that portion of history, something that the student can grasp, something that the student can pick up and take home with him, something that he can master.

The second most essential aspect in passing on historical truth (sometimes I find the use of that word in the context of historical study to be somewhat self-righteous) is establishing the "world view" of the particular period. What I mean is that the professor must fill in the details of the map that dates and places leave unmentioned. It is especially important that the professor present all the sides to these issues. And because it is foolish to believe that a professor is going to present his or her course without expressing his or her biases, it should be made clear early in the semester (for all those poor unsuspecting freshmen in the class) that such tendencies exist.

Finally, realizing that the course being taught is a survey course the professor should be conscious of two things that are infamously present in these type of courses: The over

In survey courses in all disciplines of which I am aware ^{p. 1} the general trend has been to reduce the amount of reading, the content of lectures, the ~~low~~ level of grammar accepted in work, among other matters. abundance of material versus the lack of time and the fact that because such a course is often a core requirement most students are not present just for their health. How one combats these problems is no easy matter. <

All a professor can do, in reference to the lack of time, is to make sure that the time spent in lecturing is evenly distributed among the various subtopics. And in reference to the general apathy of the students, for the most part that is the students responsibility. But what a professor can do is to create an atmosphere of comradeship and therefore make the student feel that they are facing this burden (core requirements) together.

History and its relevance is a question for which in our present society there is no universally accepted answer. I personally feel that history is extremely relevant to my existence. But such a question is put in a box by our society that is marked "Relative Questions."

Teacher enthusiasm can be infectious.